STUDIES IN THE BIBLE AS POETRY IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

A Portion of

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

JUNE, 1930

BY

ISRAEL BAROWAY

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SUMMARY OF DISSERTATION

This study adumbrates the origins, the scope, and some significant facets of the new approach to Scripture bequeathed to English criticism by the Renaissance. The establishment of Holy Writ as imaginative literature issues from the Renaissance transvaluation of the allegorical method of interpretation—that patristic expedient for rationalizing poetry's emotional impact. Using this reluctant, defensive admission of *allegoria's* non-literal, "other-speaking" character, Renaissance criticism discovered in scriptural indirection — beyond an esoteric expression of Truth — Art, which illuminated and beautified Truth: Art in the multifarious forms of metaphor, simile, hyperbole, personification, etc.; parable; story; drama — unclassified, pastoral, classical tragedy; satire; gnomic poetry; heroic song and epic; and many kinds of lyric; the classical bias arising through interpretation of Philo, Josephus, and the Church Fathers. Rhapsodic critical references and the testimony of Spenser's poetry demonstrate an avid interest in imagistic nuance and genric technic.

Authority, investigation, and fantasy invested Scripture with varieties of verse and verse theories: rhythm, in several interpretations; quantitative verse; non-quantitative verse. The quantitative theory, from Philo and Josephus through the Church to English and Continental criticism, shows strophic forms like Pindaric, Sapphic, Alcaic, iambic trimiter and tetrameter; and non-strophic forms, notably the hexameter in various interpretations. The sixteenth century, in general, accepted the quantitative theory. Gomarus in *Davidis Lyra* (1637) beyond establishing, with continental scholars like J. J. Scaliger, Steuchus, and Vossius the elder, the existence of professional study of biblical metrics, is the arch-champion of the quantitative tradition. His scansion, based upon curious postulates of vowel length, "proves" Hebrew verse to be greater in consistency and variety than Greek and Roman verse. The other three, repudiating the classical tradition, find Biblical verse accentual. Wither (1619), strongly championing accent, finds the many varieties of pattern and rhyme incapable of complete comprehension because of our imperfect

understanding of the Masoretic laws governing pronunciation. Illustrative lines, however, from the *Song of Deuteronomy* suggest his belief that they possess four stresses like his " Shall I Wasting in Despair."

This exploration of Renaissance criticism reveals endless possibilities in a vast and complex field. Introductory though it be, it is hoped that this study has established a scientific approach to them and has opened deep vistas for future investigation; that it has laid a modest foundation for a better apprehension of the Bible's literary influence upon our Spensers, our Shakespeares, our Miltons; that it has revealed glimpses of the Renaissance literary adventurer questing for loveliness even in the awful realm of the Sacred Word, to dower posterity with the truth that the Bible is in its deepest sense poetic and that its beauty is its own excuse for being.

THE HEBREW HEXAMETER: A STUDY IN RENAISSANCE SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION

By Israel Baroway

I

An earlier article by the present writer established, among other conclusions, (a) that the English Renaissance apprehended in the Old Testament the presence of a prosodic science and (b) that this science was interpreted variously, as accentual and as quantitative.[1] The purpose of the following study is to examine further the quantitative interpretation of Hebrew prosody: (1) to determine its sources; (2) to establish these sources as a palpable pre-Renaissance tradition; (3) to demonstrate their influences upon Renaissance criticism; and (4) finally, to clarify the Renaissance criticism itself. To accomplish these ends, the investigation confines itself to one quantitative pattern. The hexameter, which bears the preponderance of patristic and Renaissance reference, affords the best means of articulating the broken strands of this ancient but elusive tradition. To include a study of the many other metres, save for introductory and auxiliary purposes, were but needlessly to blur the already shadowy lines of development. Besides, as the following introduction suggests, the other measures share a kindred development.

II

The quantitative tradition of biblical prosody stems from Philo Judaeus and Flavius Josephus, both of the first century A. D. The writings of these Jews, rescued by the Church, present the sole direct characterization of the old Hebrew versification. The Rabbis of the second century, even though verse modelled upon the principles of Old Testament poetry was not long obsolete, paid no attention to metrical laws; contemporaries of Philo and Josephus, however, were still writing in the traditional forms. These two authors, then, might have bequeathed to posterity the secrets of the formulae. But they

[1] "The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance: An Introduction," *JEGP* 32 (1933). 447-80.

were writing for a Greek-reading public, either expounding Hebraic culture to a Hellenized Jewry or justifying it to a Graeco-Roman civilization. Thus, in attempting to translate the forms of Hebrew prosody into terms calculated to impress their readers, these repudiated Jews misled the Church, which accepted them as Fathers, into believing that biblical verse was classical in structure. The suggestions of Philo and Josephus crystallized into a patristic tradition; the Renaissance carried it on.

The earliest reference to the quantitative structure of Hebrew verse is Philo's. Of the Therapeutae, a contemporary sect of Jewish ascetics, Philo writes:

ὥστε οὐ θεωροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιοῦσιν ᾄσματα καὶ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν διὰ παντοίων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν, ἃ ῥυθμοῖς σεμνοτέροις ἀναγκαίως χαράττουσι.[2] *καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ μὲν ἀναστὰς ὕμνον ᾄδει πεποιημένον εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἢ καινὸν αὐτὸς πεποιηκὼς ἢ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τῶν πάλαι ποιητῶν—μέτρα γὰρ καὶ μέλη καταλελοίπασι πολλὰ ἐπῶν τριμέτρων, προσοδίων ὕμνων, παρασπονδείων, παραβωμίων, στασίμων χορικῶν στροφαῖς πολυστρόφοις εὖ διαμεμετρημένων.*[3] *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν ἱερὰν ἄγουσι πανννυχίδα. ἄγεται δὲ ἡ πανννυχὶς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἀνίστανται πάντες ἀθρόοι, καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χοροί, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν· ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ ἔξαρχος αἱρεῖται καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐντιμότατός τε καὶ ἐμμελέστατος. εἶτα ᾄδουσι πεποιημένους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφώνοις ἁρμονίαις ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες καὶ ἐπορχούμενοι, καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες τοτὲ μὲν τὰ προσόδια, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στοφάς τε τὰς ἐν χορείᾳ καὶ ἀντιστροφὰς ποιούμενοι. εἶτα ὅταν ἑκάτερος τῶν χορῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἑστιαθῇ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχείαις ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς, ἀναμίγνυνται καὶ γίνονται χορὸς εἷς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάντος κατὰ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἕνεκα τῶν θαυματουργηθέντων ἐκεῖ.*[4]

Thus, Philo bequeathes to the Church the impression that Hebrew verse is structurally classical: the Therapeutae practised many varieties of metre and rhythm in honor of God; upon one sacred festival, two choruses, one of men, the other of women, sang together, now moving their hands and dancing to antiphonal harmonies, now moving in procession, now standing still and performing all necessary *strophes* and *antistrophes*,

[2] Philo Judaeus, "De Vita Contempliva," sec. 3, *Philonis, Alexandrini Opera . . .*, ed. Cohn et Wendland, 1896-1930, 6. 53-4. I am greatly indebted to G. B. Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, London, 1915, for discussions of and references to Philo, Josephus, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome, pp. 9-17 and 21-3.

[3] *Ibid.*, sec. 10, 6. 68.

[4] *Ibid.*, sec. 2, 6. 68-9.

and finally joining into *one chorus, an imitation of that one, which in old time, was established by the Red Sea*;[5] they sang original hymns or " old ones *composed by the ancient poets,* who have left behind *trimeters,* processional songs, libation and altar hymns, and stasima, in well-measured and diversified strophes."

Josephus is even more specific:

Ἀπηλλαγμένος δ' ἤδη πολέμων ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ κινδύνων καὶ βαθείας ἀπολαύων τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνης, ᾠδὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕμνους συνετάξατο μέτρου ποικίλου· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τριμέτρους, τοὺς δὲ πενταμέτρους ἐποίησεν.[6]

The *Psalms* are in several kinds of metre, notably in trimeters and pentameters. Observe that Josephus has added to the trimeter one specific measure—and that he has attributed them to a specific body of biblical poetry.

Origen, the first great Christian exegete, seizes upon the trimeter imputation of " a certain one," surely Josephus, and initiates a new tradition by making the alternative metre of the *Psalms,* not the pentameter of his predecessor, but the tetrameter:

οὕτω γε στίχος ἐστίν· οἱ γὰρ παρ' Ἑβραίοις στίχοι, ὡς ἔλεγέ τις, ἔμμετροί εἰσιν . . . ἐν τριμέτρῳ . . . καὶ τετραμέτρῳ οἱ ψαλμοί.[7]

Eusebius corroborates this belief with his

Reliqua vero carminum, apud eos genera, ex trimetris ac tetrametris versibus, pro linguae suae proprietate, conflata perhibentur,[8]

and Jerome elaborates the trimeter and tetrameter ascriptions into a strophic organization, involving not only parts of the *Psalms,* but sections of *Lamentations* and *Proverbs* as well. In addition, he finds quasi-Sapphics and heroic verse:

Ac prius quam de singulis disseram, scire debes, quatuor Psalmos secundum ordinem Hebraeorum incipere elementorum centesimum decimum, et centesimum undecimum, et hunc de quo nunc scribi-

[5] Possibly a reference to the "Hallel of Egypt," psalms 113-8. All italics are mine.

[6] Flavius Josephus, "Antiquitatum-Judaicorum" 7. 12. 3, *Flavii Josephii Opera,* ed. G. Dindorfius, Paris, 1845, 2 vols., 1. 270.

[7] Origen, scholion to Psalm 108. 1, *Analecta Sacra,* ed. Joannes Baptista Card. Pitra, Paris, 1876-92, 7 vols., 2. 341.

[8] Eusebius, "Praepar. Evang.," 11. 5; *Patrologiae Graecae* [hereafter referred to as *P. G.*], ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1857-66, 21. 854, Latin rendering.

mus, et centesimum quadragesimum quartum. Verum debes scire in prioribus Psalmis, singulis litteris singulos versiculos, qui trimetro iambico constant, esse subnexos. Inferiores vero tetrametro iambico constare, sicuti et Deuteronomii Canticum scriptum est. In centesimo decimo octavo Psalmo singulas litteras octoni versus sequuntur. In centesimo quadragesimo quarto singulis litteris singuli versus gemini deputantur. Sunt qui et alios hoc ordine putent incipere, sed falsa eorum opinio est. Habes et in Lamentationibus Jeremiae quatuor Alphabeta, e quibus duo prima quasi Saphico metro scripta sunt: quia tres versiculos qui sibi connexi sunt, et ab una tantum littera incipiunt Heroici comma concludit. Tertium vero Alphabetum trimetro scriptum est, et a ternis litteris, sed eisdem terni versus incipiunt. Quartum Alphabetum simile est primo, et secundo. Proverbia quoque Salomonis extremum claudit Alphabetum, quod tetrametro iambico supputatur, ab eo loco in quo ait: *Mulierem fortem quis inveniet.*[9]

Jerome generously embroiders the fabric woven by his predecessors; this new creation, in turn, strongly affected Renaissance criticism. For the present, two passages, the first with a possible and the second with an indubitable influence, must suffice. Implicit here are the techniques of the choral and non-choral odes with many varieties of metrical pattern.

Quod si cui videtur incredulum, metra scilicet esse apud Hebraeos, et in morem nostri Flacci, Graecique Pindari, et Alcaei, et Sappho, vel Psalterium, vel Lamentationes Jeremiae, vel omnia ferme Scripturarum cantica comprehendi, *legat Philonem, Josephum, Origenem, Caesariensem Eusebium; et eorum testimonio me verum dicere comprobabit.*[10]

Again Jerome writes:

Denique quid Psalterio canorius, quod in morem nostri Flacci, et Graeci Pindari, nunc iambo currit, nunc Alcaico personat, nunc Sapphico tumet, nunc semipede ingreditur? Quid Deuteronomii et Isaiae cantico pulchrius? Quid Salomone gravius? Quid perfectius Job? Quae omnia hexametris et pentametris versibus, ut Josephus et Origenes scribunt, apud suos composita decurrunt.[11]

Lodge echoes:

[David's] vayne was in imitating (as S. Ierom witnesseth) Horace Flaccus, and Pindarus: sometimes his verse runneth in an Iambus

[9] Jerome, "Epistola ad Paulum," *Patrologiae Latinae* . . . [hereafter referred to as *P. L.*], ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1844-80, 22. 442. 3.

[10] Jerome, "In Librum Job (Praefatio)," *Scripturae Sacrae Cursus Completus* . . . , ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 13. 275. Cf. also *P. L.* 28. 1082. Italics are mine.

[11] Jerome, "Praefatio in Librum II Chronicorum Eusebii," *P. L.* 27. 223.

foote, anone he hath recourse to a Saphic vaine, and *aliquando semipede ingreditur.* Ask Iosephus and he wil tel you that Esay, Iob, and Salomon voutsafed poetical practises, for (if Origen and he fault not) theyre verse was Hexameter and pentameter.[12]

This introductory sketch has demonstrated, then, (1) that the English Renaissance ascribed quantitative verse to various parts of Scripture—thus far, *Psalms, Lamentations, Proverbs, Isaiah, Job* and the *Song of Deuteronomy*; (2) that the authority for these ascriptions (on Lodge's testimony) resides in Josephus and the Fathers—Origen and Jerome—and (on Jerome's testimony) also upon Philo and Eusebius, the historical line of development thus being Philo and Josephus to Origen to Eusebius to Jerome; (3) that the quantitative formulae are multifarious—trimeters, tetrameters, pentameters, Horatian forms, quasi-Sapphics, Sapphics, Alcaics, Pindarics, and, finally, hexameters. Indeed, so great was the diversity of measures " found " here that one critic, though he objected to the classical imputations, wrote as late as 1619 that

> Such is the Variety of Measures among the Hebrewes, that it hath beene a great cause why the Scansion of their Verse is harde to bee found out.[13]

Eighteen years later, Gomarus, a celebrated Hebraist, analyzed according to his own prosodic postulates, a staggering variety of quantitative patterns with a bewildering number of variations of the normal line.[14] In truth, so many are the theories and so great is the confusion that it is the rare exception for Renaissance criticism with even moderate consistency to associate a given poem with a unique quantitative metre. The hexameter, however, bears to certain poems an association sufficiently pervasive to justify the belief that it was widely recognized as the metrical formula of these poems. An examina-

[12] Thomas Lodge, " Defence of Poetry," *Elizabethan Critical Essays,* ed. Smith, 1. 71. Neither Josephus nor Origen, so far as I can find, makes such hexameter or pentameter ascriptions. Jerome misquotes or wrongly ascribes, or uses a variant text. Obviously, as a comparison of the language shows, Lodge is merely echoing Jerome.

[13] George Wither, *A Preparation to the Psalter,* Spenser Society, No. 37, Manchester, 1884, p. 58.

[14] Franciscus Gomarus, *Davidis Lyra . . .* , Lugduni Batavorum, 1637, pp. 25-7 *et passim.* Cf. " The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance," *JEGP* 32. 476-7.

tion of this association will show the sources and the currency of the tradition.

III

The hexameter in some form was imputed in whole or in part to nine books and poems of the Old Testament. The heroic material of some of these poems probably influenced certain of the ascriptions. Milton's comment on *Job* [15] proves that criticism had " discovered " the epic in biblical literature. The extent of such epic association is as yet uninvestigated; yet it would seem that Moulton's theory of the isolated epic or " Ballad " and possibly even the organic plot type or " Epic " [16] in its generally accepted sense was foreshadowed by Renaissance implication. For certainly Renaissance criticism did attribute to certain heroic portions of the Old Testament the metre of the classical epic.

The hexameter is also the metre of classical didactic and gnomic poetry.[17] This fact may also explain the association of the hexameter with Holy Writ. Nurtured on the illusion that scriptural poetry bore a close relationship to classical poetry,[18] the Renaissance might well have believed that the didactic and gnomic *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*, consisting " of observations relative to human life and character," and " expressed commonly in a short, pointed form," [19] ran in hexameters. *Job*, the third of the Wisdom books, is didactic and, according to Milton, epic.[20]

Finally, the hexameter, because of its constituent dactyls and spondees, lends itself admirably to religious poetry. " Dactyls are a solemn and slow measure and are, therefore, used (especially in choric poetry) to denote an exalted, God-trusting state of mind, or to express warnings with solemn earnestness

[15] Cf. note 56; also passage to notes 62 and 63.

[16] R. G. Moulton, *The Literary Study of the Bible*, New York, 1899, pp. 235-6; cf. also pp. 227-50 and 516-8.

[17] J. H. Schmidt, *An Introduction to the Rhythmic and Metric of the Classical Languages*, tr. from the German by J. W. White, Boston, 1883, p. 83.

[18] Cf. Erasmus, Googe, Lodge, Sidney, Harvey, Wither, Sherry, Milton, Jonson, Smith, Gomarus, etc. in " The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance: An Introduction," *JEGP* 32, in passages to notes 4, 20, 30-6, 48, 53, 61-9, 71.

[19] S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, New York, 1916, p. 394.

[20] Cf. note 56; also passages to notes 62 and 63.

. . . Spondees . . . are the measures used in religious hymns, extremely measured and slow, to which they are even better adapted than dactyls." [21]

It is a reasonable presumption, then, that the heroic, didactic and gnomic contents of the Old Testament influenced the belief that the classical line most intimately associated with such matter and the feet best adapted to such exalted strains were used by the Hebrew poets as well.[22]

IV

Though the Bible has no pure verse epic, it does possess poetry of action presented by verse narration and description, celebrating heroic achievement—with God as the epic figure. Two of these little isolated " epics," " ballads," if you will, are associated with the hexameter.

The Songs of Moses

Moses had been termed a poet early in critical history. Philo had ascribed to him a knowledge of the whole science of rhythm, harmony and metre.[23] It was Josephus, however, who made him a practitioner of the hexameter in the Song (Exodus 15) after the miracle at the Red Sea:

καὶ Μωϋσῆς ᾠδὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐγκώμιόν τε καὶ τῆς εὐμενείας εὐχαριστίαν περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ συντίθησιν.[24]

On one other occasion, too, Moses wrote " a hexameter poem, left in a sacred book " (*Deut. 33*) :

Ἔπειτα ποίησιν ἑξάμετρον αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω ἣν καταλέλοιπεν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷ ἱερῷ, πρόρρησιν περιέχουσαν τῶν ἐσομένων, καθ' ἣν γέγονε πάντα καὶ γίνεται, μηδὲν ἐκείνου διημαρτηκότος τῆς ἀληθείας.[25]

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[21] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-9.

[22] Cf. note 28, Googe's and Isidor's belief that the biblical authors were the first to use the hexameter. It was even supposed that verse originates in the Bible. Cf. Wither, p. 65: " I beleeue that those Verse-haters who oppose such as by the example of their *first Author*, etc." Indeed, the very art of all poetry originates in Scripture: cf. Milton, *P. R.* 4. 331-8; cf. Jonson, " Timber," *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Spingarn, 1. 51: " . . . Poesy . . . had her Originall from heaven. received thence from the 'Ebrewes, and had in prime estimation with the Greeks, transmitted to the Latines and all the Nations that profess'd Civility."

[23] Philo, " De Vita Moysis " 1. 5; ed. cited, 4. 125: *ἀριθμοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ γεωμετρίαν τήν τε ῥυθμικὴν καὶ ἁρμονικὴν καὶ μετρικὴν θεωρίαν. . . .*

[24] Josephus, " Ant. Jud." 2. 16. 4; ed. cited, 1. 77.

[25] " Ant. Jud." 4. 8. 44; *ibid.*, p. 146.

Such designations, misrepresenting while they commended a Hebraic art to a Greek-reading public, planted the seed of a Mosaic hexameter tradition.

To the verse of the " Song of Exodus " I find neither patristic nor Renaissance critical reference; yet there is not the slightest doubt that the dictum of Josephus was known and credited and circulated in the Renaissance. Witness Thomas Lodge. Some twenty-three years after the publication of his " Defence of Poetry," he translated the works of Josephus, which, save for his *Rosalynde*, was probably his most popular book; it was reprinted after 1602, in 1609, 1620, 1632, 1640, 1655, 1670, 1683 and 1693.[26] Lodge rendered the passage about the " Song of Exodus " in unequivocal terms:

> Moses likewise composed an Ode in *Hexameter verse*, containing the prayses of God, and a thanksgiving for the fauour he had done vnto them. All these things have I particularly declared, according as I have found them in holy Scriptures.[27]

Were Josephus known in no other form (which is incredible) Lodge's translation was sufficient to circulate the belief that the " Song of Exodus " was a hexameter poem. What more natural than to believe that the hexameter, the earliest of metres, clothed the first song of this earliest of poets?[28] Was not this poem an ode of triumph, epic in theme—reciting God's destruction of the enemy, His guidance of Israel until the settlement in Canaan and the establishment of a sanctuary—and heroic in imagery—depicting the annihilation of the Egyptians and deliverance of the Chosen People? Was this indeed not an epic poem " long before . . . Homer " in the very measure used by that poet?

[26] *The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus, A Man of Much Honour and Learning Among the Iewes.* Faithfully translated out of the Latin and French by Tho. Lodge, Doctor in Physicke . . . 1609. This is the edition I have used. Cf. N. B. Paradise, *Thomas Lodge,* New Haven, 1931, p. 167, for the matter of publication and popularity of this work.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 52. Italics are mine. Cf. Josephus, passage to note 24.

[28] Barnaby Googe quoted in Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry, etc.*, London, 1775-81, 3 vols., 3. 451: *Isaiah, Lamentations,* the poems of Solomon, David's *Psalms,* and *Job* " were written by the *first auctors* in perfect and pleasaunt *hexameter* verses." Isidor, " Etymologiarum," Lib. I., in Migne, *P. L.* 82. 119, not only places the hexameter as the first verse but *Moses* as its first practitioner: " Omnibus quoque metris prius est. Hoc primum Moyses . . . longe ante Pherecydem et Homerum. . . ."

Turning to the " Song of Deuteronomy " we find fuller documentary evidence of a hexameter tradition issuing from Josephus. Again, of course, the theme is heroic—the rescue of Israel by God's grace at a time of impending destruction. Origen, the earliest of the Fathers to write of Hebrew verse, says that " the verses among the Hebrews, as a certain one [indubitably Josephus] has said, are measured; the Song of Deuteronomy is in hexameters. . . ." [29] He explains the difference between the Hebrew verses and the corresponding Greek verses in the Septuagint (the only plausible interpretation of the first sentence of the succeeding passage) as the fault of the translators who misapprehended the structure of the Hebrew stichos.[30]

Eusebius goes further in identifying the verse of the " Song of Deuteronomy " with the Greek hexameter:

> Habent illi quoque opera sua versuum numeris comprehensa, cujusmodi est magnum illud Mosis carmen, . . . quod . . . eo versuum, quod heroicum Graeci vocant, genere continetur. Quippe hexametris syllabarum sedecim ambo constare dicunt.[31]

The verse is the heroic verse of the Greeks; it has a measure of sixteen syllables, presumably four dactylic and two spondaic feet. Eusebius' authority for the sixteen syllables is purely speculative.[32] It was neither Josephus nor Origen, and it could hardly have been his Jewish contemporaries. Possibly the notion is his own.

The testimony of Jerome presents an arresting example of our heavy dependence upon patristic sources in reconstructing Renaissance criticism. Indeed, it establishes the occasional validity, nay the necessity, of regarding certain of these sources as current Renaissance criticism, even when direct Renaissance

[29] Origen, *Analecta Sacra* 2. 341: *οἱ γὰρ παρ' Ἑβραίοις στίχοι, ὡς ἔλεγέ τις, ἔμμετροί εἰσιν· ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ . . . ἡ ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ ᾠδή. . . .*

[30] *Ibid.*: *οἱ στίχοι οὖν, οἱ παρ' Ἑβραίοις, ἕτεροί εἰσιν παρὰ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν. Ἐὰν θέλωμεν ἐνθάδε τηρῆσαι, τοὺς στίχους ποιοῦμεν. " Μακάριοι οἱ ἄμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ, οἱ πορευόμενοι ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου."* Καὶ *οὕτως ἀρχόμεθα δευτέρου τοῦ ἔξης· ἰστέον τοίνυν ὅτι οἱ "Ελληνες οἱ ἑρμηνεύσαντες πεποιήκασι τὸν παρ' Ἑβραίοις στίχον ἐν τοιούτοις δύο (ὡς [ὁ] τοῦτο ἀντίγραφον γράψας οἱονεὶ πεποίηκε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στίχου μετ' ἐκθέσεως) · τὸν δὲ δοκοῦντες δεύτερον, μὴ ὄντα δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ λεῖμμα τοῦ προτέρου μετ' αἰσθήσεως· καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκεν ἐπὶ ὅλου τοῦ ῥητοῦ.*

[31] Eusebius, " Praepar. Evang.," 11. 5; *P. G.* 21. 854.

[32] *φασὶ γοῦν* in the original Greek.

reference to such sources is wanting. Secular reference to Hebrew versification, we know, is (with a few notable exceptions) scanty, brief, and fragmentary, because in most cases it appears not for its own sake but as an accessory to some extrinsic consideration, usually a defense of poetry; hence, patristic allusion in such criticism must be and is scant. Yet it is a literary commonplace that patristic commentary was an open book to Renaissance scholarship. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the fortuitous ripples of patristic commentary (on scriptural prosody) in the Renaissance current is evidential of a deeper stream that never reaches the surface. In other words, Renaissance criticism knew more than the record indicates.

The relationship of Lodge and Wither to Jerome clearly illustrates this fact. Jerome, citing Josephus and Origen, maintains that the "Song of Deuteronomy" was composed at least partly in some form of hexameter:[33]

Quid *Deuteronomii* et Isaiae cantico pulchrius? Quid Salomone gravius? Quid perfectius Job? Quae omnia hexametris et pentametris versibus, ut Josephus et Origenes scribunt, apud suos composita decurrunt.[34]

This dictum appears in Tudor-Stuart criticism first in Lodge:

Ask Iosephus and he wil tel you that Esay, Job and Salomon voutsafed poetical practises, for (if Origen and he fault not) theyre verse was Hexameter and pentameter.[35]

Lodge's challenge is obviously but a borrowing from Jerome: a sentence immediately preceding, omitted from the quotation above because of its irrelevancy to the "Song of Deuteronomy," acknowledges the authority of Jerome and follows him almost literally;[36] the metres in both passages are identical; the

[33] If the implications of his comment on the hexameters of *Job* (cf. section 6) be applied to all poems in the present passage, which includes *Job*, the hexameter of the "Song of Deuteronomy" is not rigidly classical.

[34] Jerome, "Praefatio in Librum II Chronicorum Eusebii," *P. L.* 27. 223.

[35] Lodge, "Defence," *Eliz. Crit. Essays* 1. 71.

[36] Cf. the first sentence, "[Dauid's] vayne was in imitating (*as S. Ierom witnesseth*) Horace Flaccus, and Pindarus: sometimes his verse runneth in an Iambus foote, anone he hath recourse to a Saphic vaine, and *aliquando semipede ingreditur*" with Jerome's first sentence, "Denique quid Psalterio canorius, quod in morem nostri Flacci, et Graeci Pindari, nunc iambo currit, nunc Sapphico tumet, nunc semipede ingreditur," *P. L.* 27. 223.

poems are identical; Lodge even copies Jerome's seeming error [37] in citing Josephus and Origen as authorities for his statement. (It must be remembered that Lodge is writing in 1579, twenty-three years before the publication of his translation of Josephus). Indisputably, then Jerome is Lodge's direct, unqualified source in this passage. Yet accepting Lodge, as we do, without examining his source, we never suspect that he believed the "Song of Deuteronomy" to be a hexameter poem; for he does not include this poem in his list, identical in every other respect with Jerome's. His omission of Jerome's "Quid Deuteronomii . . . pulchrius" cannot be laid to deliberation. His slavish dependence in every other detail is proof positive that he was relying entirely upon Jerome at this time. Patently, the omission was accidental: it was due either to an oversight in transcription or to the familiar Renaissance habit of quoting from memory. Certainly Lodge (and inferentially many others) knew and accepted Jerome's pronouncement about the poem in question, even though the patristic reference never rises to the surface of Elizabethan criticism. Such a reference flows in that deeper stream of which I have spoken.

Wither is another case in point. Like Lodge, he does not mention the "Song of Deuteronomy"; but he does cite the treatise containing the hexameter ascription to that song.[38] He has no reason to include the poem in question, for he is concerned solely with the *Psalms,* which he is translating, and with the authority of Jerome [39] that they are composed of hexameters and pentameters. Yet it cannot be doubted that Wither was familiar with the Hieronymian declaration con-

[37] To my best belief, neither Josephus nor Origen ascribes these metres to these poems. Of course, there is always the possibility that a variant text accounts for every case of faulty ascription or misinterpretation which I note, but even in Lodge's own translation of Josephus twenty-three years later, I find no reference to the hexameters or pentameters of Solomon, Isaiah, or Job. The allusion to Solomon's poetry is "He composed also a thousand and fiue hundred bookes of odes and canticles, and thirtie thousand bookes of Parables and Similitudes . . ." p. 194; to Isaiah, "This Prophet truly divine . . . is accounted . . . to haue left in writing all that which he hath prophecied . . ." p. 247. I find no reference to *Job.*

[38] Wither, p. 59: "*Ieron. in Praef. in Chron. Euseb.*"

[39] *Ibid.*, "S. Hierome saith he hath founde in some Psalmes Hexameters, and Pentameters." Cf. passage to notes 52-3 for a consideration of Wither's ascription of the hexameter to the *Psalms.*

cerning the hexametral character of the "Song of Deuteronomy." Again the proof lies in the underground patristic stream.

However, we are not entirely reduced to proof by implication. Lodge, almost a quarter of a century after his "Defence," writes definitely of the "Song of Deuteronomy" and quotes the authority of Josephus. Translating Josephus' account of *Deuteronomy 33*, he writes:

> He read also vnto them a Poeme of *sixe measures* (which hee had enregistred in the holy booke) contayning a prediction of things to come, according to which all things haue and doe fall out, without varying any waies from the truth and verity.[40]

Though he does not actually use the technical "hexameter," his quantitative interpretation is obvious enough. He is translating the Greek ἑξάμετρον, which in the earlier song of Moses, he had rendered "hexameter." Surely his readers, remembering the earlier "hexameter," interpreted his "six measures" in the quantitative sense.

Another writer, the great humanist and stimulator of seventeenth-century scholarship, G. J. Vossius, evidences the continuation of the quantitative tradition of the "Song of Deuteronomy." He too specifies the "Song of Deuteronomy"; and he invokes not only Josephus and Jerome, but Origen as well:

> Quomodo canticum Mosis posterius . . . ad hexametrum accedit, ut Josephus, Origenes, & Hieronymus, putarunt.[41]

It is beside the present point that Vossius attacks the ascription of the hexameter to this song. This matter I shall discuss in an examination of the general reaction to the quantitative interpretation of biblical prosody in the Renaissance. The significant point is this: that the tradition of Josephus, Origen and Jerome with respect to this poem was still current in the day of Vossius.

What of Eusebius, the missing patristic link between Origen and Josephus? Once again we must sound the underground current. Wither writes:

> If they [those who believe verse unfitting for sacred things] nevertheless doubt it, they haue the testimony of Iosephus, Origen,

[40] Lodge, . . . *Workes of Josephus* . . . , p. 98. Italics are mine. Cf. Josephus, passage to note 25.

[41] G. J. Vossius, "De Artis Poeticae Natura, Ac Constitutione," 13. 2, pp. 30-1, *De Rhetorica, De Poetica, De Artium et Scientiarum Natura ac Constitutione*, Amsterdam, 1697.

Eusebius, Hierome, and the best of the Primitive Ages to witnesse it that the Bible has portions in verse.[42]

There is no textual reference here to the "Song of Deuteronomy" or to the hexameter measure. But the marginal citation [42] gives almost conclusive evidence that the "testimony of . . . Eusebius" to which Wither alludes includes the hexameter reference to that poem. Thus Eusebius takes his place with Josephus, Origen, and Jerome as an integral part of the Renaissance record.

Finally there is the testimony of Isidor's *Etymologiae.* This medieval repository of classical learning, still highly esteemed in the Renaissance schools,[43] informed its readers that the quantitative hexameter

Omnibus quoque metris prius est. Hoc primum Moyses in cantico Deuteronomii longe ante Pherecydem et Homerum cecinisse probat. Unde et apparet antiquius fuisse apud Hebraeos studium carminum quam apud gentiles.[44]

This means that countless Renaissance readers were persuaded by Isidor that not only was the "Song of Deuteronomy" written in classical hexameters, but that it was the first of all poems written in that metre or in any other metre—"long before Pherecydes and Homer." This unqualified contention, added to the Renaissance citations of Josephus, Origen, and Jerome, insures the certainty of a wide-spread belief among Renaissance readers that the "Song of Deuteronomy" was a hexameter poem very much like those of the Greeks and the Romans.

V

The Psalms

The *Psalms* were intimately associated with the heroic. Indeed, the general theme of the whole body of *Psalms* was regarded as epic:

[42] Wither, p. 58. Wither's marginal citation, "*Euseb. in praep. Liber 11, cap. 8*" undoubtedly includes the hexameter reference in his own edition. In both Migne and Wither the book cited is Book 11; only the chapters differ.

[43] *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* 8. 187-8. The *Etymologiae* was printed ten times between 1470 and 1529, and was imitated copiously by other writers.

[44] Isidor 82. 119.

These sacred poems, these psalms, sing of the blessed man, Christ, — of his birth, his death, his descent into hell, his resurrection, his ascent into heaven, his return to judge the earth. . . .[45]

This conception of the *Psalms* as an esoteric, allegoric, prophetic epic[46] of Christ's life, culminating in the triumph of Christianity, extended even into the later Renaissance.[47] Whether this association influenced the ascription of hexameters to the *Psalms* is speculative; quite reasonably, it might have. Whatever be the case, the fact remains that *Psalms* as a unit—the whole book—was regarded by one critic, at least, as completely hexametral:

The *Psalter of Dauid* . . . [was] written . . . in *perfect* and pleasaunt hexameter verses.[48]

The italicized words are significant. The verse is not simply a measure of six feet; it is a *perfect* measure of six feet. It applies

[45] Petrarch, "On the Nature of Poetry," *Petrarch, The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, ed. Robinson and Rolfe, N. Y., 1898, p. 264.

[46] This conception embraces such earlier Renaissance epic ingredients as the concentration of illustrious actions about an illustrious person, the most illustrious of all epic figures, the differentiation from tragedy in the happy conclusion and the unlimited scope of the action and from simple narrative by the grandiosity of design, "the imitation of a number of attendant or dependent acts, leading from a beginning to a suitable end," and above all, the treatment, according to the Tassonian precept, of the history of Christianity as opposed to pagan history. Cf. Trissino, Capriano, and Tasso in Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, N. Y., 1899, pp. 109 and 120.

[47] Wither, pp. 77-8: "Can we be delighted to heare a Heathen Poet sing a fabulous story of Hercules, their great Champion (whose valour neuer befitted vs) how hee went downe to hell, and by force brought thence the Lady Proserpina, whom the Prince of that infernall Region had rauished? And can we not take as great pleasure to hear the diuine Muse of this heauenly Poet, sing in a true Historie, *how for the benefit of all men (euen for vs) Christ our farre more victorious Captaine descended into the lowest depths, for the saluation of our soules; and hauing subdued death, and hell, deliuered that faire Ladie the Church from being rauished by the Prince of Darkenesse?* Doth it affect vs to heare but the bare relation, how Orpheus, the Thracian Poet, so preuailed among the vnmerciful Inhabitants of Hell, that by the power of his Charmes, he brought his wife Euridice from those vnpleasant shades? And can we sit vnmooued when the thrice excellent of Poets repeats vnto vs the very songs themselues, *wherewith the inspirer of all excellencie did himself rauish heauen, earth and hell? and in spite of the strongest manacles of sinne, death, and the Diuell, brought his Spouse, our Mother, from the tyranny of Sathan?* Or is it possible we should take pleasure to read how Amphion, with the Musicke of his Harpe, drew stones and trees together, for the building of Thebes? And yet we, more dull than either those stones and trees, sit insensible of the Melodie his Harpe makes, who charmed Spirits, and drew together materials for the building of New Ierusalem?"

[48] Googe, in Warton, *History*, 3. 451. Italics are mine.

not only to isolated poems; it embraces the *whole Book of Psalms*.

Googe invokes no authority here, but it is possible that he unconsciously misinterprets Jerome. Googe's list of poets, in addition to David, includes Isaiah, Solomon, and the author of *Job*.[49] This corresponds, like Lodge's statement previously noted, to Jerome's list.[50] But Jerome's "Quae *omnia* hexametris . . . apud suos composita decurrunt" does not include the *Psalms*, mentioned in his first sentence.[51] It includes, as Lodge saw, *Isaiah*, Solomon, and *Job* (and, as he and Googe failed to note, "The Song of Deuteronomy"). The *Psalms* in general, according to Jerome, if I read him correctly, are only "in morem nostri Flacci, et Graeci Pindari, nunc iambo currit, nunc Alcaico personat, nunc Sapphico tumet, nunc semipede ingreditur." A superficial reading or a reliance upon memory, however, might invest the "Quae omnia" of the last sentence with a retroactive and an inclusive signification, embracing the *Psalms* as well. This method of quotation, particularly in the interest of point-making—e. g. "*perfect* hexameters"—(none of the sources I have found makes such an absolute claim) may account for the omission of Jerome's pentameters.

It is impossible to estimate the pervasiveness of the belief that the whole *Book of Psalms* was hexametral. Googe merely evidences the existence of such a belief—nothing more. Nor is it possible to generalize upon the extent of the conviction that if the complete book was not hexametral at least some parts were. It is certain, however, that the retroactive, inclusive interpretation of Jerome's "Quae omnia" circulated such a misapprehension. Wither writes:

> S. Hierome saith he hath founde in some Psalmes, Hexameters, and Pentameters.[52]

The appeal to the authority of Josephus must have fortified this conviction:

> Josephus indeede writes, that Dauid composed . . . diuerse Odes and Hymnes, in various kindes of verse; among which there were

[49] *Ibid.*; cf. note 28.
[50] Cf. passages to notes, 11, 12, 34 and 35, and note 36.
[51] Cf. passage to note 11.
[52] Wither, p. 59.

some of fiue, and some of six feete: But that Hee or S. Hierome imagined them to be Hexameters and Pentameters, according to the fashion of the Greeke and Latine Measures, I shall hardly belieue. I rather thinke their meaning was, that they founde Verses of so many Syllables, or such as might in some other respects be answerable vnto them. For the Iewes themselues will not acknowledge any such kinde of Verse to bee among them.[53]

Wither's very anti-classical interpretation of the putative ascriptions of Josephus [54] and Jerome, the two great patristic authorities, discloses a lingering mediaeval tradition that portions of the *Psalms* were written in quantitative hexameters.

Finally, Eusebius, cited previously by Wither,[55a] testifies to the heroic hexameter verse of one specific " epic " Psalm:

Habent illi quoque opera sua versuum numeris comprehensa, cujusmodi est . . . psalmus . . . Davidis centesimus decimus octavus, . . . [qui] . . . eo versuum, quod heroicum Graeci vocant, genere continetur. Quippe hexametris syllabarum sedecim ambo constare dicunt.[55b]

This is an unqualified statement: a measure of sixteen syllables, which the Greeks called heroic verse. Small wonder that later seventeenth century criticism fell upon the quantitative legacy of the Fathers. Yet Josephus, Jerome, and Eusebius were not lightly to be denied in the earlier Renaissance.

VI

Job

The interlinking of the hexameter and Scripture extends to *Job*, possibly because of the didactic and the epic associations of the book.[56] Such associations, at any rate, must have made

[53] *Ibid.* The attack by Wither, Scaliger, Vossius and others upon the quantitative tradition will be the subject of a future study.

[54] Another example of careless quotation. Josephus writes " pentameters and trimeters," not " pentameters and hexameters." Cf. passage to note 6. For verification, cf. Lodge's translation, *Workes of Josephus*, ed. cited, p. 183: " Dauid . . . composed Odes and hymnes in praise of God, in diuers kindes of verse: for some are of three, other some are of fiue measures."

[55a] Wither; cf. note 42.

[55b] Eusebius, 21. 854.

[56] Milton, " Reason of Church Government," *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, 1.196: " That Epick form whereof . . . the Book of Iob [is] a brief model." Cf. also passages to notes 62 and 63 following. The didactic function of *Job* is self-evident. Cf. passages to and notes 17, 18 and 21.

credible the medieval contribution to the Renaissance. For *Job*, according to a patristic tradition, was not only a hexameter poem—a definitely "classical" hexameter poem, "running in dactyls and spondees"; with the "Song of Deuteronomy" it was the first of hexameter poems, "long before Pherecydes and Homer."

Omnibus quoque metris prius est. Hoc primum Moyses in cantico Deuteronomii longe ante Pherecydem et Homerum cecinisse probat. Unde et apparet antiquius fuisse apud Hebraeos studium carminum quam apud gentiles. Siquidem et *Job, Moysi temporibus adaequatus, hexametro versu dactylo, spondeoque decurrit.*[57]

One early Elizabethan appears to have been influenced by this dictum; for he writes:

The book of Hiob [was] written by the *first auctor* (s) in *perfect* and pleasaunt hexameter verses.[58]

A later critic, stemming directly from another source, Jerome, finds the hexameter to be at least one of the metres of *Job:*

Iob . . . voutsafed poeticall practises for . . . [his] verse was Hexameter and pentameter.[59]

Ultimately all these declarations issue from Jerome—Isidor's included.

Unless Jerome is self-contradictory, which is not impossible,[60] his pentameter reference in the quoted "Praefatio in Librum II Chronicorum Eusebii" cannot include Job.[61] He may have meant that some of the poems in his list were written in pentameters and others in hexameters. *Job* may have been meant as one of the hexameter poems, and Lodge, if he knew Isidor's pronouncement and another, more extended treatment of Jerome on *Job*, may so have interpreted this passage. For the great mediaeval authority in a detailed analysis of *Job* elim-

[57] Isidor 82. 119.

[58] Googe in Warton, *History* 3. 451.

[59] Lodge, "Defence," *Eliz. Crit. Essays* 1. 71. Cf. passages to notes 35-7 for Lodge's blind adherence to Jerome.

[60] Cf. passage to note 9 where the "Song of Deuteronomy" is said to be written in iambic tetrameter, and passage to note 11, where the same poem is said to be hexameter (or pentameter, or both).

[61] Cf. passage to note 11: ". . . Quae omnia hexametris et pentametris versibus . . ."

inates all other patterns save the hexameter. First, in one brief passage, he writes of *Job:*

Prosa incipit, versu labitur, pedestri sermone finitur.[62]

Such a structure—prose beginning, verse body, and prose conclusion—he elaborates in this way:

A principio itaque voluminis usque ad verba Job, apud Hebraeos prosa oratio est. Porro a verbis Job, in quibus ait:

Pereat dies in qua natus sum,
Et nox in qua dictum est: Conceptus est homo

usque ad eum locum, ubi ante finem voluminis scriptum est:

Idcirco ipse me reprehendo,
Et ago paenitentiam in favilla et cinere,

Hexametri versus sunt, dactylo spondeoque currentes, et propter linguae idioma crebro recipientes et alios pedes non earundem syllabarum, sed eorundem temporum.[63]

According to this arrangement, 3. 3 to 42. 6 inclusive is constituted of hexameters with dactylic, spondaic and other feet of the same "times"; the preceding and succeeding material, but three and a half chapters of forty-two, is prose. Could this structure—a prose beginning or prologue, if you will, a prose ending, and a hexameter poem—have influenced Milton's conception of *Job* as a brief model of the epic? (This is a purely incidental and conjectural matter; but it is a challenge to investigation.)

Isidor's "hexametro versu, dactylo spondeoque decurrit" is a striking analogue if it is not, as is virtually certain, a direct iteration of his predecessor's "hexametri versus sunt, dactylo spondeoque currentes." Such patristic corroboration, with the further fortification of contemporary Renaissance scholarship, must have persuaded many to the belief that *Job* was a species of hexameter poem.

Jerome, however, does not clothe *Job* with the purely classical hexameter, as he understood that pattern. He means rather, I believe, a hexameter "rhythm." A previous study[64] suggests that a distinction, starting with Philo, was made between Hebrew "metre" and Hebrew "rhythm" or "numbers."

[62] Jerome, "Epistola ad Paulinam," *P. L.* 22. 546.
[63] Jerome, "In Librum Job (Praefatio)," *Scripturae Sacrae . . .* 13. 274-5.
[64] "Tremellius, Sidney and Biblical Verse," *MLN* 49 (1934). 149.

Jerome is one of those who poses these two terms against each other.[65] There is no evidence that he was influenced by Quintilian's sharp dichotomy between "rhythm" and "metre,"[66] but he suggests a kindred distinction in *Job*, even though he does not poise the terms. At least, and this is more important, a Renaissance nurtured on Quintilian and but superficially acquainted with Hebrew could well have interpreted Jerome through the Quintilianic rules; for hexameter "rhythm," a strict adherence to the total time of the foot unit but not the *order* of the syllables, permits a freedom of structure that might help explain to the uninitiate the irregularity of the "Hebrew hexameter." "Hexametri versus sunt, dactylo spondeoque currentes" in itself imposes no rigid order upon the dactylic and spondaic units. What follows, "propter linguae idioma crebro recipientes et *alios pedes non earundem syllabarum, sed eorundem temporum*," definitely releases the units even from the necessity of running in dactyls and spondees, provided they have the dactyl-spondee time quantity. This means that an unrestricted interjection of the ascending anaepest among the descending dactyls in addition to the indiscriminate use of spondees would form a "rhythmical" as opposed to a strictly metrical hexameter; for it "is of no moment to the *rhythm* whether the dactyl has the first or the last syllables short; . . . the *rhythm* measures merely the

[65] Jerome, "Epistola ad Marcellam," *P. L.* 22. 434: "Quidam diapsalma commutationem metri dixerunt esse; . . . Sunt qui rythmi distinctionem."

[66] Quintilian, *Institutes of Oratory* 9. 4. 46-50, tr. J. S. Watson, London, 1856, 2. 222-3:

. . . though both rhythm and metre are composed of feet, they nevertheless have several points of difference; for *rhythm*, that is *numbers*, consists of lengths of times; *metre*, besides length, requires the time to be in a certain order . . . Rhythm lies either in feet having two parts equally balanced, as the dactyl, which has one long syllable equal to two short . . . or in feet that have one part consisting of two times and another of three, as the first paeon, . . . or in feet in which the one part is double of the other, as the iambus, which is formed of a short and long syllable, or the trochee, which is the reverse. The same feet are used in metre, but there is this difference, that it is of no moment to the rhythm whether the dactyl has the first or the last syllables short; for the rhythm measures merely the time, its object being that the space from the raising to the lowering of the voice be the same. The measure of verses is altogether different; for there an anapaest or a spondee cannot be put for a dactyl nor can a paeon begin or end with short syllables indifferently . . . Rhythm has indefinite space, metre definite; metre runs on in a certain circle, rhythm flows on as it has commenced, as far as the . . . point of transition to another kind of rhythm.

time, its object being that the space from the raising or the lowering of the voice be the same," whereas "the measure [metre] of verses is altogether different, for there an anaepest or a spondee cannot be put for a dactyl." Such a "rhythmical" hexameter, a promiscuous succession of rising anaepests, falling dactyls, and spondees, could of itself have rationalized for the Lodges of the period the irregular flow of the Hebrew "hexameter" of *Job*.

But Jerome adds an even greater release from the quantitative hexameter pattern to make credible this Hebrew hexameter. At times, the "rhythm" of *Job* (and here the author calls it "rhythmus") is rhythm in the loosest meaning of the term: here even the foot-quantity is not observed:

> Interdum quoque *rhythmus* ipse dulcis et tinnulus fertur numeris lege metri solutis: quod metrici magis quam simplex lector intelligunt.[67]

To the simple reader (simplex lector) such a hexameter rhythm is unintelligible. Since only the "metrist" can follow this looser rhythm and since the rest of *Job* is hexametral in a stricter sense of observing the total time of the component feet, this assumption of the Hebrew hexameter takes on a probability little short of certainty. Those, like Lodge, who accepted Jerome without question—either because they knew no Hebrew or because they had but a superficial or at best an unprofessional knowledge of the language—must have been persuaded that *Job* bore a definite, if a qualified, resemblance to the quantitative hexameters of classical poetry.

Finally, Jerome actually finds learned Renaissance corroboration and approval in the work of the celebrated Mercerus, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Collège de France, a Hebraist "so famous that the Jews went to hear him and owned that he understood Hebrew the best of any man of that age,"[68] and quite probably one of those unidentified "learned Hebricians" whose researches into biblical prosody such critics as Sidney, Harington, and the author of *The Arte of Poesie* give evidence

[67] Jerome, "In Librum Job (Praefatio)," *Scripturae Sacrae . . .* 13. 275; also *P. L.* 23. 1082.

[68] Dupin in *A New General Bibliographical Dictionary*, London, 1857, ed. H. G. Rose, 10. 103. Cf. also *Grande Dictionnaire, Universel Du XIX^E Siècle*, ed. Larousse, Paris, 1874, 11. 57.

of following.[69] Franciscus Gomarus, a later Hebraist of note, presents us with an excerpt of Mercerus' corroboration of Jerome's views on *Job:*

Quemadmodum prae ceteris, magnus ille Mercerus; cujus in *Commentariis in Iobum,* cap. 3. memorabilis extat oratio. Sic enim ait: " (Pereat dies) Hic est initium metrorum Iobi, usque ad versiculum sextum capitis XLII, infra . . . propterea, &c. Conatus sum (iuxta ea, *quae monet Hieronymus*) multos versus ad dimensionem pedum revocare. *Sane plerosque dimensus, hexametros esse comperi: verum ubi pro dactylo & spondeo, passim alij pedes, iuxta linguae idioma* (*ut dicebat Hieronymus*) occurrunt. Multi sunt versus spondaici & primus statim, qui desinit . . . procreatur vir." [70]

By actual scansion, we see, Mercerus verifies Jerome's dactylic-spondaic hexameters. Furthermore, he corroborates—" dicebat Hieronymus "—his predecessor's " propter *linguae idioma* crebro recipientes et *alios pedes,*" by a parallel " passim *alij pedes,* iuxta *linguae idioma* occurrunt." Jerome's " non earundem syllabarum, sed eorundem temporum " he omits, possibly because the exceptions to the 4/8 time unit are too numerous under his system of scansion to admit of this modification. But he elaborates Jerome's reference to the spondees with " multi sunt versus spondaici " and he offers the first sentence, *Job* 3. 2, as an illustration of one of the many spondaic verses, postulating his scansion upon two rules of Vatablus, his predecessor in the chair of Hebrew at Royal College:

Accepi D. Vatablum (laudandae memoriae) rationem intellexisse versuum omnium Iobi & Psalterii, & quosdam Canones, ad facilius eorum rationem intelligendam, praescripsisse, ut: *quod nulla sit Hebraeis* positio: *quod Sceva, ne geminum quidem, pro aliquo computetur*: & alia huiusmodi: quae speramus aliquando proditura.[71]

The validity of Vatablus' laws—that [quantity by] position is non-existent in Hebrew and that the " Shewa " is non-vocalic—and of Mercerus' scansion of the Hebrew upon the basis of these postulates is not our present concern. It is sufficient that a

[69] Sidney, " An Apology for Poetry," *Eliz. Crit. Essays* 1. 155; Harington, " A Brief Apology for Poetry," *ibid.* 2. 207; *Arte of Poesie, ibid.* 2. 10.

[70] Mercerus, *Commentarius in Iobum* from *Davidis Lyra,* 1637, pp. 15-6. The dots indicate omission of the Hebrew.

[71] *Ibid.*

professional contemporary Hebraist of note justifies for the Renaissance by putatively scientific means the general contention of Jerome and Isidor of Seville.

VII

Isaiah, Solomon, Jeremiah

Jerome, putatively authenticated by Josephus and Origen, ascribed hexameters to the "Song of Isaiah," [72] and Lodge, echoed him:

> Ask Iosephus and he wil tel you that *Esay,* Iob and Salomon voutsafed poetical practices, for (if Origen and he fault not) theyre verse was Hexameter and pentameter.[73]

Which of the songs Lodge understood by Jerome's allusion, it is impossible to ascertain; possibly it was the famous "Song of the Vineyard," possibly another. It is even likely, judging from Lodge's context, that the writer had forgotten the exact statement of Jerome [74] and was assuming the whole or many parts of Isaiah to be written, at least partially, in hexameters. Certainly Lodge says nothing of "songs," and unquestionably his contemporary readers who were unacquainted with either Josephus, Origen, or Jerome, or who did not know or had forgotten the passages in question, understood the famous critic, supported by patristic authority, to mean a considerable portion of *Isaiah.* From just such inexact quotation do new creeds oft arise.

Googe clearly means the whole book, and without the qualifications of the pentameter. Googe is already suspect of misinterpreting Jerome; [75] whatever be his source, he believes *Isaiah* to be completely and perfectly hexametral:

> The diuine and notable Prophecies of Esay . . . were written . . . in perfect and pleasaunt hexameter verses.[76]

[72] Cf. passages to notes 11 and 34. It is impossible to determine from the context whether he meant the pentameters to refer to all or only some of the poems in the list.

[73] Lodge, "Defence," *Eliz. Crit. Essays* 1.71. Cf. notes 34-7 and passages related for the treatment of Lodge's adherence to Jerome. Italics are mine.

[74] Cf. his omission of the "Song of Deuteronomy" from Jerome's list, notes 34-7 and passages related.

[75] Cf. passages to notes 49-51.

[76] Googe in Warton, *History* 3.451.

The books of Solomon, on the ground of genre, might easily be associated with hexameter. Their didacticism is self-evident; even the lush *Song of Songs* was rationalized into a " continued Allegorie of the Mysticall loue between Christ and his Church." [77] *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* are, moreover, gnomic.[78] The *Song of Songs*, like the *Idyls* of Theocritus and Vergil's *Bucolics*, was regarded as pastoral:

The Scripture also affords us a divine *pastoral* drama in the *Song of Salomon*, consisting of two persons and a double Chorus, as Origen rightly judges.[79]

If Jerome needed such credibilization these links with the classical genres employing the hexameter would have furnished it for Lodge, who echoes:

Salomon voutsafed poetical practises (for if Origen and he [Josephus] fault not) . . . [his] verse was Hexameter. . . .[80]

Jerome's indefinite " Quid Salomone gravius . . . hexametris et pentametris versibus " [81] quite reasonably implies all of Solomon—*Song of Songs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Proverbs*; Lodge's equally indefinite ascription may be similarly interpreted and probably was so interpreted by his followers—with the full assurance that Josephus, Origen, and Jerome were his authorities. Googe, whether he was influenced by Jerome or not, seems to interpret his source in the same way:

. . . the Songs and Ballades of Solomon . . . were written . . . in perfect and pleasaunt hexameter verses.[82]

" Ballade," spelled variously, meant in Tudor times, in addition to " song," " a proverbial saying, usually in the form of a couplet." [83] Googe could hardly have meant " songs " here; he

[77] Henry Peacham, " The Compleat Gentleman," *Critical Essays of 17th Cent.* 1.118. Of course, this idea is a Renaissance commonplace.

[78] Cf. notes 17 and 19 and passages related.

[79] Milton, in *Critical Essays of 17th Cent.* 1.196.

[80] Lodge, " Defence," *Eliz. Crit. Essays* 1.71. Again, one cannot say whether the pentameter is meant to include Solomon, either in Lodge or in Jerome. Cf. notes 34-7 and passages related and note 70.

[81] Cf. passage to note 11.

[82] Googe, in Warton, *History* 3.451.

[83] *NED* gives the following examples of this use of the word: " 1528 More *Heresyes.* 1. wks. 177/1 Than haue we well walked after the balade: . . . 1562 J. Heywood *Prov. & Epigr.* (1867) 54 Spend and God shall send . . . saith tholde ballet, 1601. Shaks. All's Well I. iii. 63 For I the Ballad will repeate, which men full . . . "

would have been merely repeating " songs." Moreover, there is only one group of songs in the Solomonic canon—*the Song of Songs*, otherwise known as *Canticles*. Googe's " Songs " obviously refers to *Canticles*; " Ballades " must refer to the " proverbial saying, usually in the form of a couplet." Such an interpretation of " Ballades " fits perfectly the sententious, aphoristic style of *Proverbs*, and particularly the distichal form in Chapters 10-22, where each verse contains a complete proverb of two parallel members, each in virtually the same number of words. This " couplet " structure is as apparent in the English translation as in the original Hebrew.

Ecclesiastes, too, quite often falls into a rhythmic parallelism, frequently in the distichal, or in the English rendering, couplet form. The parallel structure of the verses of 1. 1-10, 15, 18; 3. 1-8; 7. 1-9; 10; 11; 12. 1-8, is abundantly clear even in English translation. Even were the distichal form unrecognizable to Googe, the didactic, the gnomic character of the acute and pithy meditations on life and society brings *Ecclesiastes* as well as *Proverbs* within the category of proverbial or " balladic " literature. The couplet form, it will be remembered, is not a *sine qua non* of the type. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that Googe believed not only the *Song of Songs*, but *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* as well, to be written " in perfect and pleasaunt hexameter verses."

It is the same early Elizabethan who presents the clue to a hexameter association with the *Lamentations* of Jeremiah:

> The Lamentation of Jeremie . . . [was] written . . . in perfect and pleasaunt hexameter verses." [84]

I have found no source for such an unqualified claim, but the suggestion again may stem from Jerome, with Elizabethan impatience of verification and its honest passion for absolute values accounting for the distortion. Jerome writes that Chapters 1, 2 and 4 of *Lamentations* contain heroic verse at regular intervals:

> Habes et in Lamentationibus Jeremiae quatuor Alphabeta, e quibus duo prima quas Saphico metro scripta sunt: quia tres versiculos qui sibi connexi sunt, et ab una tantum littera incipiunt

[84] Googe, in Warton, *History* 3. 451.

Heroici comma concludit . . . Quartum Alphabetum simile est primo, et secundo.[85]

Wither knew this contention and attacked it; not the heroic measure *per se*, but the whole conception of Jerome's quasi-Sapphics, *of which the heroic measure constitutes an integral part—the concluding part of each verse group.*[86] This attack establishes a current acquaintance with Jerome's hexameter ascription to *Lamentations*; and though this champion of the accentual theory of biblical prosody did not accept the patristic dicta without examination, the Lodges and the Googes, either incapable of grappling with Hebrew metrics, or indisposed to do so, or even unconversant with the Hebrew language, undoubtedly accepted the authority of this "learned Hebrician." In such circles lies the greatest influence of Jerome and his predecessors and successors in promulgating a belief in the quantitative structure of biblical verse.

VIII

To recapitulate. (1) The quantitative hexameter in classical or modified form was ascribed partly or completely to nine books and poems of the Old Testament: *The Song of Exodus, The Song of Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Job, The Psalms* (*Psalm 119* in particular), *Lamentations, The Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes*, and *Proverbs*. (2) The Renaissance sources are pseudo-patristic and patristic: Philo and Josephus originated the quantitative tradition; the patristic successors, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and Isidor extended and embroidered their suggestions. (3) Jerome was the most prolific mediaeval critic of biblical prosody and wielded the greatest influence in the Renaissance. (4) Renaissance clues are few and slender, but passages from Googe, Lodge, G. J. Vossius, Wither, and John Le Mercier (Mercerus) show the crystallization of the patristic tradition of quantitative hexameters. (5) In the case of Mer-

[85] Jerome, "Epistola ad Paulam," *P. L.* 22. 442-3.

[86] Wither, p. 59: "S. Hierome saith . . . that in the *Lamentations* he discouered *Quasi* Sapphica, as he tearmes them. And I thinke they be but as it were Sapphickes: for all the reason which I can perceiue hee giueth, is the tripling of the Verse, and the beginning of euery three with the same letter of the Alphabet: to wit, the first three with Aleph, the second three with Beth &c." The reading in Migne is "quasi Saphico" not "quasi Sapphica," as Wither reads it.

cerus, we found a professional Hebraist examining the verse structure of *Job* and discovering, in corroboration of Jerome, many measures in hexameters. (6) In fine, Renaissance opinion was deeply moulded by the patristic heritage, and through its own misinterpretation, careless reading, and its spacious imagination, extended the patristic meanings beyond their original implications. It was not until the seventeenth century that an accentual school, numbering among its adherents Augustinus Steuchus, J. J. Scaliger, G. J. Vossius, and George Wither, arose to attack this quantitative tradition of trimeters, tetrameters, pentameters, Sapphics, quasi-Sapphics, Alcaics, Pindarics, and hexameters.[87] This reaction in criticism will be the subject of a future study.

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[87] Cf. summary of introduction.

VITA

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